United Nations

Centre against Apartheid

Notes and Documents

5/92 MARCH 1992

21 MARCH 1992: OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

United Nations reiterates support for non-racial and constitutional democracy in South Africa

[*Note*: The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid held a solemn meeting on 20 March 1992 in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

As part of the observance of the International Day, a round table discussion was also conducted by the Special Committee against Apartheid with the participation of prominent individuals and representatives of liberation movements from South Africa and NGOs active in the anti-apartheid campaign.

This issue contains excerpts from statements made at the meeting.]

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1. Statement by the President of the General Assembly, H.E. Mr. Samir S. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia)

May I express to the Chairman and to the distinguished members of the Special Committee against Apartheid my thanks and appreciation for this occasion to take part in this special commemorative meeting. It is with a deep sense of commitment that I join the Special Committee against Apartheid and members of the international community at large in observing this day, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

I am mindful that this Day also marks the anniversary and memorial for the victims of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. Consequently, it should serve as a day of remembrance for all those who have in any way been victims of apartheid. As we remember them, we must also bear in mind the injustice suffered by those who have been victims of oppression and racism, and those all over the world who have lost their inalienable rights merely on account of their race or nationality.

The United Nations has always stood for the equal rights of all peoples. The principles codified in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights compel us all to stand against racism wherever it may exist. We do realize, however, that racism and racial discrimination are far from being eradicated. This fact alone underscores the importance of this meeting.

One of the fundamental objectives set forth in the Charter of the United Nations is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

To this end, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Convention against Discrimination in Education were adopted and two world conferences to combat racism and racial discrimination were held, in 1978 and 1983. However, despite the efforts of the international community, millions of human beings continue to this day to be the victims of varied forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

I must reaffirm again that all forms of racism and racial discrimination, particularly in their institutionalized form, such as apartheid, or resulting from official doctrines of racial superiority or exclusivity, are among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated, especially in South Africa and in occupied territories and territories under alien domination.

The positive results of the recent referendum in South Africa should accelerate free negotiations involving all the people of that country aimed at the final elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination there. I hope that all the parties will accept the result of the referendum seriously and participate in the negotiations for the early establishment of a

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truly non-racial, free and democratic system in South Africa. However, certain racist elements in that country continue to threaten the ongoing negotiations and must be checked. The failure to adequately address and contain them will inevitably mean a return to the era of bigotry, profound racism and even violence, which were the hallmarks of apartheid.

We, as members of the international community, must therefore remain vigilant and refrain from acts that tend to contribute to the uncertainties in South Africa. We must also endeavour to maintain our political leverage as called for by the United Nations General Assembly in its Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, and in consensus resolution 46/79 A adopted on 13 December 1991.

Moreover, as we observe this Day, acknowledging, in the process, the positive developments that have been made in South Africa, it is incumbent on us all to ensure that the political process in South Africa is truly irreversible. This would facilitate an onward march towards a non-racial democracy in that country.

Freedom, peace and social justice are noble ideals which nations do work for and to which all peace-loving people aspire. Their attainment, however, cannot be guaranteed in a world full of racism and racial bigotry. As our world becomes smaller, bound by shared values and interdependency, the need to coexist and live in harmony becomes more pressing. Such an aspiration, however, cannot be fulfilled if a concerted effort is not made to eradicate racism and racial discrimination. We must all bear this in mind and work assiduously to achieve a non-racial world. As we observe this Day, let us resolve to recommit ourselves to those principles that uplift the dignity of mankind through the conquest of racism.

2. Statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali

This observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is taking place at a time filled with hope. The process of negotiated change currently under way in South Africa should lead, in the near future, to the emergency of a new society--a society in which all South Africans, irrespective of their race, can live together in harmony as equal citizens of a non-racial democracy.

The results of the recent referendum in South Africa have clearly demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of White South Africans support the negotiation process for a non-racial democracy. The result underlines the commitment of the South African people as a whole to reform and change through peaceful means. It provides a fresh and compelling impetus to the negotiations now taking place within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

The United Nations, which participated as an observer in the first meeting of CODESA in December 1991, is fully committed to the negotiating process. It is hoped that all concerned parties which have not yet joined the negotiations will do so soon. A

preliminary agreement was reached earlier this month regarding arrangements to oversee the initial phase of the transition process. Further progress in the negotiations should lead to transitional arrangements that will inspire general confidence in the administration of the country and facilitate the establishment of the necessary mechanism for drafting a new constitution.

It is important that the negotiations remain on course, so that a common vision for the management of South Africa's transition towards a non-racial democracy can emerge. Persistent violence and socio-economic inequalities, however, continue to complicate the transition process. Improvements in such crucial areas as housing, education, employment and health will help to ensure a peaceful transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

We now have a new opportunity for accelerating in the process towards a negotiated settlement.

A challenging period lies ahead for South Africa and the region as a whole. Member States, which have committed themselves, individually and collectively, within the framework of the United Nations Declarations on Apartheid, to monitoring and promoting a non-racial and constitutional democracy in South Africa, must remain vigilant. They should be ready to provide the support needed to facilitate the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a society in South Africa in which the aspirations of all its citizens for justice and equality are at long last fulfilled.

As we observe the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, we must reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, in equality and the worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women.

There can be no development without respect for human rights, and there can be no respect for human rights without development.

Harmonious relations between nations and all efforts to consolidate world peace ultimately depend on our attitude towards human rights.

3. Statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, H.E. Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria)

The International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has been globally observed by the international community for many years. The solemn annual observance which we hold today is important in many respects. First, it underscores our collective concern about the problems associated with racial discrimination and its impact on society at large. Second, this day is particularly significant for this Committee, a day of reaffirmation that all forms of racism, the worst type being that of apartheid, must be vigorously combated and completely eradicated.

The consequences of racial discrimination are so glaring that this day has become a memorial--a day reserved for honouring the victims of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa and, for that matter, all victims of the racial policies of apartheid.

The evils of racism may have become an overworked cliche. But this in no way detracts from the concern that we must all continue to share and express about racism and racial discrimination wherever it exists. Pockets of racism continue to manifest themselves globally and, of recent, racial and hate crimes have been on the upswing. Whatever the rationalization may be for these disturbing trends, there cannot be any justifiable basis for racism, least of all that which is given effect by government legislation and fiats. As I have had occasions to say repeatedly, a threat to human dignity and human rights anywhere is a threat to them everywhere.

Mindful of the developments that have taken place in South Africa, today's observance assumes an added importance. There is the temptation to be resigned to the notion that since key apartheid legislation has been repealed, all is well in South Africa and racism and apartheid are dead. In reality, this is far from the truth. We in this Committee have consistently insisted that the repeal of apartheid legislation and thus the removal of the theoretical basis for the existence of apartheid is not synonymous with an end to apartheid. We have continuously expressed profound concern about the legacy and vestiges of apartheid. We have also reiterated the need to arrest the prevalent violence, which is itself a by-product of the apartheid system. All these, coupled with the stark and grave socio-economic inequalities which exist today in South Africa, are pointers to the bedeviling problems that the South African nation confronts because of the existence of racism.

While our preoccupation in this Committee is with South Africa and political developments in that country, it must be borne in mind that universally, and in spite of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, racism continues unabated - becoming daily more insidious in both its scope and its character.

The United Nations, over the years, has decried racism. In the same context, it has described apartheid as a crime against humanity. Assiduous efforts are being made now not only to eradicate apartheid through peaceful negotiations, but also to bring about a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa. We, as members of the international community, are duty-bound to assist in every way possible in bringing about that desirable reality in South Africa.

Only three days ago, an all-white referendum was conducted in South Africa. The imperative need and outcome of that referendum notwithstanding, it did underscore the need for racism to be continuously challenged whenever it exists. No rationalization whatsoever can justify the circumstances in which the fate of an entire nation is determined by the marginal consideration and opinion of only a segment of that society, and along racial lines. As I observed prior to the referendum, it proves once again that the ongoing process is not irreversible.

In spite of some auspicious developments in South Africa, there remain several reasons to be cautiously optimistic. It is realistically accepted that there is an overwhelming possibility that some political imponderables may occur that may influence and affect developments thus far. The concern that such impact may be negative cannot be taken lightly. Similarly, past experience has shown that, when they occur, they are often racially motivated.

It behooves us all, as we mark this day, to make every effort and contribution possible towards enhancing and supporting the current negotiations under the framework of CODESA. It cannot be overemphasized that should the current negotiations suffer a reverse, the disastrous consequences both inside and outside South Africa will be difficult to fathom. In the context of racism which we discuss today, it must be acknowledged that a return to the regressive and repressive policies of apartheid of the past will be a return to unprecedented racism as well as the attendant violence.

Thus, while today ought not be a day of recriminations, we must observe it with a resolve to work in a concerted manner towards eradicating racism wherever it exists, and particularly in apartheid South Africa. Our collective responsibility is a moral one--and our obligation must be anchored on our individual sense and commitment to fairness, equity and social justice as well as to unwavering support for the fundamental human rights of every citizen of our world.

4. Excerpts from the statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, H.E. Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia (Papua New Guinea)

...Today, we meet once again to pay our respects to those 69 innocent people who had gathered peacefully to demonstrate the fact that they too were equal members of humankind--of whatever colour or race--and that dignity, freedom and equality were universal rights to be shared.

...We note that overall progress has been made in the process of ending apartheid in South Africa and towards negotiation on a new constitution. The repeal of major apartheid laws is a most notable development although little has been done to give practical effect to the repeal.

...At its forty-sixth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 46/85 of 16 December 1991, entitled, "Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination", in which it declared once again that all forms of racism and racial discrimination, particularly in their institutionalized form, such as apartheid, or resulting from official doctrines of racial superiority or exclusivity, are among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all available means.

The General Assembly further called on the entire international community to give effect to the programmes and activities for combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and to intensify their efforts during the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The year of Sharpeville, 1960, also marked the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By adopting its resolution 1514(XV) on 14 December 1960, the General Assembly adopted an instrument to guide it in its task to seek ways and means to confront the evil legacy of colonialism. Racism and racial discrimination characterized many colonial situations in the past. Thirty years later, in 1990, with Namibia's accession to independence, one could feel a measure of satisfaction at the successful outcome of the struggle of the Namibian people, who had fought long and hard against the inter-linked evils of racism, apartheid and colonialism--which had for so long distorted their history, their development and their humanity.

...Today, the international community is in a position where the end of apartheid is in sight and to hope that the difficult road to a free and democratic society, although beset with pitfalls, is a real possibility.

The international community has also been given a time-frame by the General Assembly in which to complete the decolonization process and to make this last decade of the twentieth century the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism in accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988.

As we brace ourselves to fulfil the complex tasks, given the many problems which remain to be resolved regarding racial discrimination in general and its manifestation of apartheid in South Africa and decolonization in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, we must seek our guidance from the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of apartheid, increase our efforts for the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and ensure that we fulfil the mandate entrusted to us by the General Assembly in its resolution 46/181, entitled "International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism" and the Plan of Action aimed at ushering in the twenty-first century, a world free from colonialism.

5. Excerpts from the statement by the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Tebogo Mafole

It is a singular honour and privilege for me, on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and, in the name of the struggling people of South Africa, to address this solemn meeting in observance of Sharpeville Day, designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Underlying this designation is the conviction by all people of conscience that the highest tribute that can be paid to the victims of the massacred Sharpeville and Langa--

who died 32 years ago in their courageous fight against apartheid--is to commemorate their deaths with a rededication to the struggle against racial discrimination everywhere...

...In the past two years, South Africa has witnessed momentous political developments that have not only attracted international focus, but have also altered the political landscape of our country. In an international setting where the cataclysms of Eastern Europe, the war in the Persian Gulf, the situation in the Middle East and other such critical and pressing issues were all crying for international attention, the question of apartheid has continued to remain firmly on the international agenda.

The reason for this, in our view, is not very far to find. It is explained by apartheid itself: a system of racial discrimination whose philosophical rationale is grounded in a viciously distorted calvinistic doctrine that preaches the superiority of the White race; a system whose racist political practice is entrenched in pseudo-legal statutes and whose right to exploit the Black community to the optimum is defended by the greatest military Power in the southern hemisphere. In the face of world protest at this outrage, its perpetrators saw the answer in engulfing the entire region of southern Africa in death and destruction at a great loss in human life and property and thus posing a serious threat to world peace. This system, which for decades looked so secure and whose creators saw in it the makings of the thousand-year reich, upon which it was modelled, began to show deep cracks. Under the combined impact of the resolute struggle of the people of our country and the concerted pressure brought to bear by the international community, the edifice of apartheid is beginning to collapse.

The manifestations are there for everyone to see. Starting on 2 February 1990, ANC and other proscribed organizations were unbanned; Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years of incarceration; the regime in South Africa held talks with ANC, which resulted in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and negotiations between the regime and other political forces started under the auspices of CODESA. These processes have understandably elicited a favourable response among all those who have placed a high premium on the search for a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict. Indeed, many nations of the world, with some justification, saw these developments as significant contributory factors leading to the realization of the objectives of the United Nations Declaration.

It is, however, a matter of serious concern to us that some circles are beginning to talk as though apartheid was a thing of the past, which therefore no longer had any place on the international agenda...

We would strongly urge those who are gullible enough to believe that apartheid is dead to step aside from those lofty pronouncements on apartheid, emanating from the comfort of dubious board-rooms and university lecture halls. To them we would say:

"Remove the lenses that are tainted with euphoria through which you see South Africa, take a hard look at the harsh reality and then explain, if you can:

"Why 80 per cent of the population, which by some strange coincidence happens to be Black, is still unable to vote;

"Why the capita income of White workers last year amounted to R 24,600 and that of the Black workers was recorded at R 2,400;

"Why 53 per cent of the Black population lives below the poverty line, while the comparable figure for Whites is less than 1 per cent;

"Explain why an advanced country like South Africa should have 30 per cent of its population totally illiterate and 38 per cent functionally illiterate. Needless to say those figures relate to Black people;

"Why over two million Black children could not be accommodated in school last year whilst the White schools had 807,000 vacancies, leading to some White schools literally closing down because there were no more White students to enrol;

"Explain to the tear-filled Black mothers as they bury their children who die because of malnutrition and neglect why the regime in the field of health spends per capita four times the amount for a White child as it does for a Black child;

"But above all explain to the thousands of South Africans that they should continue to bury their dead because of State-sponsored violence that has claimed thousands of lives and rendered thousands more homeless."

The list is endless and it points in one direction: that whilst apartheid may be dead for some self-appointed experts on apartheid, for the millions of oppressed South Africans it is very much alive--its address is still South Africa.

That is the first reality which we want to underline.

The second reality consists in yet another fallacious assertion that seems to be gaining currency in the analysis of the political trends in South Africa. This is the notion on the basis of which it is argued that whatever political developments have occurred in South Africa, they are irreversible. In terms of the danger that this notion presents, it is no different from the characterization of apartheid as dead, for it seeks to lure the international community into the trap of abandoning whatever leverage it may have on South Africa by giving up all measures against the regime. The argument goes: "We know that apartheid is not yet dead but have de Klerk and the White community not clearly and irrevocably committed themselves to democracy? Are the results of the just-held referendum not proof positive that apartheid is on its way out?"

In seeking to clarify the standpoint of ANC on this matter, I should like to address, albeit very briefly, the question of the referendum held on 17 March 1992.

...The referendum, far from proving the irreversibility of the process, demonstrates the very opposite. It was a painful reminder that the White community alone had it in its power to reverse the process. In many years to come when our history is chronicled, scholars will offer us well-researched explanations as to why the Whites voted in the manner that they did. For now, however, it is patently clear that they were empowered to make the decision that could have amounted to a virtual veto and resulted in very dire consequences.

The second observation on the referendum which has to be made and which is very important, if somewhat less obvious, is the fact that whilst it is absolutely safe to assume that the majority of the Whites voted "yes" because they saw the negotiation option as the only viable one, it is also true that an important factor which influenced their decision was fear that a "no" vote would invite international reprisal, in the form of economic sanctions and other punitive measures such as isolation from international cultural and sports contacts.

For us this really underlines the wisdom of the decision adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 December 1991 in resolution 46/79, which rather than advocate the abandonment of all pressure, called for the phased application of measures against Pretoria in tandem with the progress made in the political process.

Thirdly, the referendum results graphically demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the White people voted for negotiations, despite the fact that they were aware that this would inevitably lead to the loss of their privileged status in South African society. This status has always been guaranteed by apartheid.

It therefore stands to reason that the support for this process among Blacks would be equally, if not more, enthusiastic, since they would surely realize that the creation of a democratic South Africa would only result in the improvement of their lot.

...The last observation is that some confusion appears to exist as to the interpretation of the results of the referendum. There are those who argue that the high percentage poll and the overwhelmingly "yes" vote reflects the support enjoyed by the National Party and its political programme. There is no doubt that the National Party and its leadership clearly campaigned heavily for the "yes" vote, but it would be a serious mistake to interpret the 68.6 per cent affirmative vote registered as anything but support for the process of negotiation rather than for the political perspectives of that party. Such support will only be ascertained when the people of South Africa are offered the opportunity to examine the political programmes of different political forces and to exercise their right to choose from among them the programme that encapsulates their aspirations.

...It is a matter of historical record that ANC initiated the negotiation process currently under way. Along with 18 other participants, ANC is participating in CODESA. In

this connection, we have submitted, as have others, our proposals to the five working groups of CODESA that are addressing various issues within that body.

The ANC perspective for the future is clearly reflected in the Declaration of Intent signed by all but two of the participants in CODESA in December 1991, which envisions the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa based on universal adult suffrage on the basis of one-person, one-vote.

In an effort to advance the process of negotiations, ANC on 24 February presented to CODESA far-reaching proposals on the transitional arrangements.

In a nut-shell, ANC proposed a two-stage process whose implementation could be realized within 18 months. The first phase entails the creation of an interim government council in order to "level the playing field" by ensuring equal treatment for all organizations, especially in the election campaign. The second stage involves the election of a constituent assembly, which will serve as both a constitution-making body and as a legislative assembly.

We do not see why there should not be an interim government this year.

These proposals have been made after a careful analysis and very serious broad discussion within the ranks of ANC. They represent our contribution to the process which it is hoped will lead to the path we have chosen, toward a democratic South Africa.

The international community, and in particular the United Nations, could greatly facilitate this process through a strict adherence to the provisions of consensus resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 46/79, which states, inter alia, that the normalization of relations with South Africa should be carried out in tandem with the progress registered at the negotiations for the democratization of the country, and the international community should enhance its material support to South Africa in order to address the glaring socio-economic inequities that are a legacy of apartheid.

The timely intervention of the peoples of the world can and will greatly accelerate the process leading to the attainment of our noble objective of a truly democratic South Africa. For our part we wish to take advantage of this rostrum to reiterate our firm conviction that South Africa shall become truly democratic.

6. Excerpts from the statement by the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. Vuyani Mngaza

...The annual observance of the Special Committee against Apartheid has contributed to focusing international attention on the plight of our people and the legitimacy of our struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

...As I speak from this platform many of our innocent people are dying in our country. A peace accord has been signed by some organizations, but more people are dying. Only last week 90 people were killed in Natal and other places--in what The Cape Times called "Black Friday". This brought the death toll to 300 since the announcement of the "Whites only" referendum.

May I remind this august gathering that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) did not sign the Peace Accord on the ground that it is not involved in the so-called "Black-on-Black violence" and because most of the violence in our country is orchestrated by the South African regime. This genocidal violence is carried out through the South African Defence Force, the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), Koevoets, Buffalo Battalion 32, Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (RENAMO) elements, Askaris and Selous Scouts from Ian Smith's Rhodesia, to name just a few. This genocide has reached a stage where an international commission should be established to investigate it.

In December 1989, PAC, ANC and the United Nations delegates worked into the early hours of one New York morning drafting a document that eventually saw the light of day. It is called the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The following principles were enunciated:

(a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic State;

(b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

(c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters' roll and by secret ballot, in a united and non-fragmented South Africa;

(d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that it is not in furtherance of racism;

(e) All shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;

(f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;

(g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;

(h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans;

(i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with all peoples.

These principles are in accord with the basic principles of our struggle in Azania.

In pursuit of national unity and peace among the dispossessed Africans, PAC, at its Second Congress, in December 1990, after being banned by the regime for 30 years, was mandated to form a Patriotic United Front with all forces in our country which have a contradiction with the South African regime. PAC approached ANC, AZAPO and others, even Inkatha, to form a Patriotic United Front on certain stated principles. In October 1991, the Patriotic United Front was formed. It was financed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It had been rallied around the establishment of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which it considered as its bedrock.

Some of the matters agreed by the Patriotic United Front were:

1. The Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting/All Party Conference must be convened by an independent and neutral convener, not by the South African regime.

2. PAC and ANC must agree on an acceptable convener.

3. The Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting/All Party Conference would work out modalities of transferring power to the majority. The constitutional principles would be within the framework outlined in the United Nations and OAU declarations of 1989. The role of the international community would be to supervise the negotiations. It is a historical falsity that South Africa, a colony that was never decolonized, has sovereignty. PAC wanted the negotiations to be supervised by OAU and the United Nations--not to be mere "observers" or "invitees" of the South African regime.

On 29 and 30 November 1991, when the PAC attended what is considered a Pre-Constituent Assembly, PAC found itself alone presenting the demands of the Patriotic Front outlined above. Others succumbed to Mr. de Klerk's rejection of the Patriotic United Front. It is therefore a terminological inexatitude to say that those in Mr. de Klerk's CODESA represent the Patriotic United Front and its demands.

CODESA is a creation of the apartheid regime. That is why, when it suited Mr. de Klerk, he left CODESA for his own "Whites only" referendum and threatened to resign. This sort of thing would never have occurred if the negotiations were genuine and carried under the supervision of OAU and the United Nations. In the present exercise Mr. de Klerk is still a player and a referee. He does as he pleases. Nothing is guaranteed. He wants to dismantle apartheid his own way--the CODESA way, which has more features of co-option

than of negotiation. The South African situation is still not irreversible. And appropriate sanctions must not be lifted.

CODESA is composed of 14 Bantustans and tricameral structures, all created by the South African regime, all receiving their payrolls and budgets from the Pretoria regime, all condemned by United Nations General Assembly resolutions and by Security Council resolution 554 (1984). Three of these Bantustans are led by military juntas whose soldiers were trained by the South African regime. There is false propaganda that these elements are "patriotic forces". They are not. They are defectors to Mr. de Klerk's schemes. If they were, they would have demanded what the Patriotic United Front mandated them to do - as PAC is doing.

The recent referendum in South Africa has had very misleading interpretations. One of them is that the overwhelming support the "Whites only" electorate gave Mr. de Klerk shows that they now support the outcome of negotiations as envisaged by the people of Azania through organizations like PAC, the United Nations and OAU. The question which was asked of the electorate was not whether they support majority rule, which is democracy. They were not asked if they support the termination of racist minority rule, which is apartheid and tyranny over the indigenous African majority.

...Mr. de Klerk has also rejected majority rule on the basis of one person, one vote and has offered "power sharing". How much do 36 million Africans share with 3 million Whites? Is the sharing of land and the political power in proportion to population numbers? It seems that 3 million Whites will still get much more land and more political power than the vast indigenous African majority.

Of CODESA, Mr. de Klerk told the minority parliament on 24 January 1992: "CODESA is not...an institution of authority...Government's participation in it does not in any way entail the relinquishing of its powers or authority." He reiterated the right of Whites to veto the changes they did not like.

When it suited him, he held the recent referendum without the consent of his fellow "codesites".

Why would the Whites therefore not vote for Mr. de Klerk in the recent referendum? No reason at all.

PAC remains committed to genuine negotiations for the establishment of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly. PAC is in the process of pursuing this demand through all channels.

...The negotiation process should be a truly decolonizing process leading to the emergency of a new African State, representing the right of sovereignty and independence of

the African people, their right to self-determination and to sovereignty over their economic and natural resources.

For upholding these fundamental principles of our national struggle for liberation we have been threatened. The stage is being set for confrontation with the forces of genuine liberation in South Africa. Officials of the South African regime have warned that as soon as the so-called "interim government" is in place, action will be taken against PAC, AZAPO and others that are in disagreement with the regime's schemes of co-option. Monies are also being dangled to sell the CODESA fraud.

Liberty is not a cheap commodity. We are prepared to pay any price for our people's liberation and dignity in their own land. We pledge our unwavering support for the people of Palestine for their heroic struggle for self-determination. Our struggle is one with theirs.

7. Excerpts from the statement by the representative of the Office of the Permanent Observer for Palestine to the United Nations, Mrs. Maha G. Khoury

...On behalf of the Office of the Permanent Observer for Palestine to the United Nations, I would like to express solidarity with the people of South Africa on this important occasion, the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The people of South Africa have suffered tremendously from the policies of apartheid, the policy of racial discrimination. The Black majority of South Africa have paid a heavy price, in all aspects of their lives; because of these inhuman policies, which were reflected in their economic and political situation, their education, their health, family and family structure, the well-being of their children, youth and the elderly, and their women. The effects of such policies were all in all a devastation to the social and economic structures of the Black majority in South Africa. In all probability, it will take years and years to overcome the destruction caused by the apartheid system. While we recognize that the process of negotiation that is currently taking place is creating some cracks in the system of apartheid and is moving towards the direction of dismantling it, the progress that has taken place so far is slow and minimal given the level of suffering that has befallen the Black majority. Racism and discrimination are illegal and should be stopped and stopped immediately.

The idea or the ideology of exclusiveness is very dangerous, whether it is based on colour, race, religion or nationality. It should not by any means exist within the international community, and specially at this age and time. Nor should the international community tolerate such ideologies in any shape or form. We firmly believe that economic sanctions against the apartheid regime should continue and should be lifted only when the right to self-determination, freedom and democracy have been completely and unequivocally realized by

the Black majority of South Africa. Furthermore, we would like to note that the recent success of the referendum in South Africa is indeed a positive result as an outcome of the current negotiations.

...The Black majority of South Africa throughout its history, resisted and organized in order to stop apartheid. It built its national liberation movements, ANC and PAC. It stood tall and proud and resisted apartheid with every means available to it.

...The international community has to play a more active role in ending both apartheid and occupation.

In closing, on behalf of Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization salutes the people of South Africa on this day and their leadership, ANC and PAC. Together, we shall build a better world. Freedom, justice and peace for all.